

THE NEW VOICE OF ANTISEMITISM:
RECENT HOLOCAUST NEGATIONIST LITERATURE IN AMERICA

A Senior Honors Thesis

by

JAMI LEE JOHN

Submitted to the Office of Honors Programs
& Academic Scholarships
Texas A&M University
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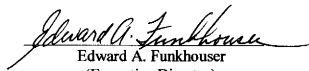
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ABSTRACT

The New Voice of Antisemitism:

Recent Holocaust Negationist Literature in America. (April 2001)

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This honors thesis argues that the literature of Holocaust negationism is a repackaging of classical antisemitism. The propositional content of negationist discourse is less significant, I argue, than its *rhetoric*. And its rhetoric unmasks the truth about negationism: its primary concern is not the Holocaust at all, but an “international Jewish conspiracy” that is behind the “Holocaust hoax.” It is a bad mistake, then, for liberal academics and scholars to treat negationism as merely “the other side” of the “Holocaust story,” and to protect its right to a hearing. The reality is that negationism is an effort to restore antisemitism to respectability as a form of political discourse, which is anti-liberal in its bones.

This thesis traces the development of Holocaust negationism from the 19th-century forgery *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and Henry Ford’s *International Jew*, a *locus classicus* of pre-Holocaust antisemitism, through Arthur Butz’s *Hoax of the*

Twentieth Century down to the current dissemination of negationist ideas on such internet websites as that of the Committee for Open Debate on the Holocaust (CODOH). The purpose of this thesis is not to refute negationists' arguments against the Holocaust; its historicity is taken for granted here. Instead, this thesis subjects negationist rhetoric to unsparing scrutiny. I show that negationist rhetoric is not unique-it is the same antisemitic rhetoric that was introduced by the *Protocols*. The arguments that negationists advance, and the conclusions they reach, are the same arguments advanced and the same conclusions reached by traditional antisemites. This thesis closes a gap in current scholarship, demonstrating the straight-line descent from traditional antisemitism to Holocaust negationism and calling its "revisionist" motives into question.

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Introduction

For most people, the existence of the Holocaust is an accepted fact, but there are some who insist that it is a hoax. Some minimize the extent of the Nazi murder of six million Jews, some rationalize the actions of the Nazis, and some deny the event outright. Perhaps it is not surprising that known hate groups should express such views, but what is surprising is the public and unashamed face of negation. Holocaust negation now has a pseudo-intellectual air with proponents such as once respected historian David Irving and Northwestern University professor Arthur Butz.

During winter 2000, negationists were severely tested when the British courts heard a libel lawsuit brought by Irving against Deborah Lipstadt, a historian at Emory University. In *Denying the Holocaust*, her definitive account of negationism, Lipstadt had called Irving “one of the most dangerous spokespersons for Holocaust denial,” arguing that he is dangerous precisely because he is also a respected historian in some quarters (Lipstadt 181).¹ Lipstadt was not the only one on trial in Irving’s lawsuit. Because of British libel laws, which place the burden on the defendant to prove the truth of her “libels,” the Holocaust itself was on trial. Lipstadt had to establish historical evidence of the Holocaust as well as show that Irving purposely misread the evidence. Lipstadt won

¹ This thesis follows the style and format of the MLA Handbook.

the case when High Court Judge Charles Gray ruled against Irving, declaring he is a racist and an antisemite.

The cultural outcome of the case is not so encouraging, however. Irving may have lost at trial, but he had succeeded at making himself heard--at getting a wider hearing for his negationist views. "British Historian disputes Jewish Holocaust," said the Texas A&M University *Battalion* in reporting Lipstadt's legal victory (April 12, 2000). This was not news, of course; the news was that, after Judge Gray's ruling, to dispute the Holocaust is to falsify history *as a matter of English law*. This was a genuinely startling development, but Irving succeeded in relegating it to an afterthought. Indeed, the *Battalion* mentioned Lipstadt's legal victory over Irving only in the last paragraph of a story that was otherwise devoted entirely to Irving's negationist views.

Holocaust negationist literature must be addressed by the academic community, because if left unanswered, negationism will become a legitimate historical perspective. Before venturing further, I would like to define the terms that I will be using. Several terms are indifferently applied to "denial" material. The deniers themselves prefer to call themselves Holocaust "revisionists." This title gives them an air of legitimacy because the title, popularized by Harry Elmer Barnes for historians like himself and Charles A. Beard who questioned the "official" U.S. reasons for entering the First World War, suggest that Holocaust negation is a legitimate school of historical thought. Deniers would like the public to believe that they are merely trying to revise the meaning of the term "Holocaust," but the truth is that, if the Holocaust is the "hoax of the twentieth century,"

then “revisionists” such as Arthur Butz--whose phrase this is--are actually *denying* its existence. However, “denial” is a psychological term for a defense mechanism to trauma. Even some Holocaust survivors, unable to come fully to terms with their experience in Nazi death camps, “deny” the Holocaust in this sense (see Kestenberg 46-52). Such denial may be psychologically unhealthy, but it is also sad--and *involuntary*. It would be a mistake to confuse psychological denial with willful negation of historical truth about the Holocaust. For this reason, I will follow the lead of French sociologist Nadine Fresco and use the term Holocaust “negationism” from this point forward (see Fresco). I define Holocaust negationism as any literature that reduces, rationalizes, or completely denies the Holocaust with a willing distortion of the facts.

The purpose of my paper is not to refute negationists’ arguments against the Holocaust; I take its historicity for granted and do not seek to counter negationists’ false historical arguments with valid and corrective historical evidence. Other writers, far better than I, have already presented the evidence in copious detail; anyone who seriously doubts the Holocaust need only read them to be shown his errors (see Bauer; Browning; Gilbert; Hilberg; Yahil). What I am interested in is the rhetoric of negationists. The negationists have specific rhetoric or style of writing that sets their work apart from other historical writing. But negationist rhetoric is hardly unique--it is the antisemitic rhetoric that was introduced by *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*. The purpose of this paper is to examine negationists’ rhetorical style and its parallels to antisemitic discourse. I have chosen to focus upon internet websites, which have been

shown by historians to be operated by Holocaust negationists. All negationist literature in the United States is self-published and most of the printed literature was published in the seventies and eighties. The new form of self-publication is the internet--it is cheaper for both the publisher and the prospective audience--and when *Holocaust* is typed into a search engine, negationist materials invariably appear. So I focus on websites because they contain both the old and new negationist material, and also because the internet is where the average person is most likely to be exposed to negationist materials.

Hatewatch.org has a page that identifies twenty-four different websites devoted to Holocaust denial. Since libraries and internet providers allow this material to remain available to users, citing “free speech,” it is necessary to have scholarship that will enable the public to identify the propaganda and hatred that negationists rely upon to spread their misinformation. Earlier, I said that there is a parallel between negationist rhetoric and antisemitic rhetoric, but “parallel” is not a strong enough word--the rhetoric of traditional antisemitism and the rhetoric of negationism are exactly the same. The arguments that negationists make and the conclusions they reach are the same arguments made by traditional antisemites and the same conclusions that traditional antisemites reach. Research needs to address--and this paper does address--the fact that negationist literature is merely a repackaging of traditionally antisemitic literature into a more socially acceptable wrapping.

At present, there are only a handful of books that address Holocaust negationism and even fewer that specifically address American Holocaust negationism. The gold

standard for dealing with Holocaust denial literature is Lipstadt's *Denying the Holocaust*. Other works include Michael Shermer and Alex Grobman's *Denying History*, Paul Kuttner's *Holocaust: Hoax or History*, and John C. Zimmerman's *Holocaust Denial*. The primary problem with this scholarship, including Lipstadt's book, is it addresses only the false arguments advanced by negationists and does not focus on their propaganda techniques nor take to pieces specific passages where the writers reveal their antisemitic bias. Holocaust negationism is changing, and the secondary literature has not kept pace. The previous scholarship on Holocaust negationism does not address two important issues. The first is the new use of the internet as a tool to disseminate negationist materials. The internet makes negationist materials accessible to many more people. Scholarship must help to provide the critical selectivity that search engines do not. The second element that current literature on negationism neglects is the underlying motives of negationists. The current literature does an excellent job of exposing the falsehoods in the negationist arguments, but it just assumes that the negationists have antisemitic motives. Research needs to go beyond rehashing historical fact and specifically focus on comparing negationist materials to traditional antisemitic literature. The antisemitic pedigree of Holocaust negationism has never been spelled out in any detail, and as a consequence, negationism is not widely seen for the *political* danger it represents.

There is a common belief that to give Holocaust negationist literature any scholarly attention is to give it credence. In the past it might have been true that ignoring the negationists was the best plan. While Holocaust negationism limited itself to the

newsletters of hate groups, it could be safely ignored. Now however negationist material is available to students via the internet and in libraries without any obvious links to hate groups. The availability of negationist material in libraries is already giving the material credence; and as a consequence, antisemitism is regaining a political respectability which it has not known for two generations. Presidential candidates who question the existence of gas chambers give it credence. College professors with negationist websites linked to major universities give it credence. There needs to be scholarship that supplements and extends Lipstadt's *Denying the Holocaust*-scholarship that reveals negationists' motives. Without understanding their motives, students of history will believe either that the negationists are mere cranks or that they are martyrs to the truth whose intentions are pure and whose hypotheses have merit. Negationist literature is hatred masquerading as scholarship, and the academic community has an obligation to unmask negationist literature for what it is. Without help in examining the motive and techniques of negationists, the third and fourth generations removed from the Holocaust will find it increasingly difficult to distinguish negationist material from legitimate scholarship. In a liberal democracy, which assumes that every story has two sides and that both sides must be heard if democracy is to be preserved, negationists will have gained the credence of offering the "other side" of the "Holocaust story."

But negationism is a repackaging of traditional antisemitism, and as such it is an enemy of liberal democracy. To make my case, I will begin with a discussion of traditional antisemitic works such as *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*. Then I

will discuss some of the technical details of the websites, which will answer such questions as who publishes these sites and how they are arranged. After discussing the technical details of the sites, I will compare them to the traditional antisemitic literature. My argument will end by showing that the negationists' antisemitism is just part of a larger xenophobia on the part of the negationists.

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History

Since the Diaspora of the Jews in sixth century B.C.E., there has been antisemitism. Pagan antisemitism modified over time and became a more virulent Christian antisemitism. While the Enlightenment attacked all religion, it did allow the Jews rights--men were allowed freedom of religion--but it also gave rise to Social Darwinism. This new science classified the Jews as a race, which allowed them to be persecuted again on racial grounds. It is at that time, the early twentieth century, that the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* was introduced. The *Protocols* introduced the “gloomy, apocalyptic prophecies of the victory of the omnipotent Jew” that have been the foundation for all antisemitism in the twentieth century (Wistrich 119). The *Protocols* influenced Henry Ford to write *The International Jew*, which in turn influenced Hitler. After the Holocaust, antisemitism ceased to be socially acceptable, but the idea of the international conspiracy--the ideological basis of the Holocaust--lives on in negationist literature.

There was a time when Jews were seen as Christ-killers, and people believed that Jews used the blood of Christians in ceremonies (see Dundes). That time of religious superstition passed, and the new age of antisemitism began with the publishing of the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* by Sergius A. Nilus in 1901. The *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* purports to be the written plan-by “the Sages of Zion,” whose

“sayings are quoted as gospel by the Jews themselves”-for the development of a Jewish state (Nilus 138). Because the *Protocols* purports to be a written plan by Jewish leaders, its twenty-four protocols are written in first person from the “Jewish perspective.”

Despite the fact that the *Protocols* were forgeries, Henry Ford based *The International Jew* as well as articles in his newspaper, the *Dearborn Independent*, on them. *The International Jew*, which was published in 1921, is commentary on the *Protocols* and is written about the Jews and not from their “perspective” as the *Protocols* is. Ford in *The International Jew* applies the *Protocols* to what he has “observed” in American life. The two books have a schema that includes three basic elements-money, mind control, and press control-all for the benefit of an international conspiracy. These are the practical means by which the Jews are said to spread and enforce their international conspiracy. These elements-money, mind control, and press control-and the concept of an international Jewish conspiracy itself are the foundation upon which twentieth century antisemitism is built.

The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion and *The International Jew* are the books upon which Hitler based his beliefs (Wistrich 119). The Holocaust was the result of a level of hatred that history had never witnessed before. After World War II, the world rejected the hatred that motivated the Holocaust. As long as the Holocaust can be remembered, antisemitism is discredited by it, and for that reason, antisemitism is no longer socially acceptable. However, historical “revisionism” is acceptable, and it is under this guise that negationists operate. The negationists are antisemites who are trying to

discredit the Holocaust because the Holocaust discredited their antisemitic views. In trying to discredit the Holocaust, they have constructed an argument based on the same principles as *The Protocols* and *The International Jew*.

Arthur R. Butz was the first to publish negationist literature in the United States. Butz is an electrical engineering professor at Northwestern University, and his website on the university's server contains negationist material. Butz's book, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, which was published in 1977, inspired many of the American negationists who have websites today.

The website on which I will focus is that of the Committee for the Open Debate on the Holocaust or CODOH. There are several reasons that I focus on CODOH. First, the site is the best organized of negationist sites, which gives it more of an air of legitimacy to people who stumble upon it. The CODOH website centers on an online newsletter to which different writers contribute. The second reason is that unlike other negationists, Bradley Smith, the cofounder and director of CODOH, does not appear--on the surface at least--to be a racist. The third reason is that he often advertises in college newspapers and is one of the most active negationists in the United States.

Another significant publisher of negationist material is the Institute for Historical Review (IHR) which prints books and pamphlets as well as maintains a website. I will be using evidence from this website, and I will quote some of the pamphlets that are published on the CODOH website, but I will not study the IHR site in any detail. There are two reasons that I do not focus on the IHR: Willis A. Carto and Mark Weber. Willis

A. Carto founded the IHR in 1979 and the Liberty Lobby, an antisemitic organization, in 1955. He also founded several antisemitic journals since 1955, but he no longer leads the IHR (Anti-Defamation League “Willis A. Carto”). The IHR broke with Carto and is now led by Mark Weber. Weber was Bradley Smith’s partner at CODOH, but he left to join the IHR, which he took over after the break with Carto. Even Smith admits on his website that Weber is a racist. Smith, by contrast, does not have any blatant connections to racist organizations and denies that he is a racist.

The other two websites that I have researched are AAARGH and Zündelsite. Both sites are technically American sites because one is a dot com and the other is a dot org. AAARGH is a French negationist organization. Zündel is Canadian, but claims that the site is owned and operated by a Californian woman. Zündelsite was at one time Ernst Zündel’s Zündelsite, but is now Ingrid Rimland’s Zündelsite. Rimland is the webmaster for the site and claimed ownership for it to help Zündel defend himself against allegations that he violated Canada’s laws against hate speech. Zündel and Rimland claim that his connection to the site is only that it uses his name (Anti-Defamation League “Ernst Zündel”). The reason I limit my use of Zündelsite in this paper is that whoever is writing for Zündelsite is unabashedly racist. Out-and-out racists do not interest me, because they are open about their motive--which is hatred. I am much more interested in showing that Smith, *et al.*--despite their protests to the contrary--are motivated by the same hatred. I have minimized my use of the AAARGH website because it is a mess. It mixes negationist material with material from legitimate scholars. For instance, the AAARGH

site contains an article originally published in *Jewish Social Studies* by the literary scholar Naomi Seidman on Elie Wiesel's *Night*, in which Seidman discusses the differences in the French and Yiddish versions of the book due to revision and the change in languages. AAARGH publishes the literary essay as if it were a document that calls Wiesel an imposter, which it does not.

Let me summarize what I have addressed to this point. I have introduced the basic history of antisemitism and negationist literature. I have also introduced the negationists to be examined in this paper. What I intend to do next is discuss modern antisemitism's claim of a Jewish international "conspiracy," explain how negationists use the conspiracy claim, and finally show that negationists' antisemitism is part of a larger xenophobia. However before I address the international conspiracy, I would like to digress a moment to discuss another phenomenon that can be found in negationist materials--a phenomenon that will help to explain why I pay relatively little attention to negationists who are open racists like Mark Weber. This is what I call the Honest Researcher Phenomenon. In negationist writing that seeks to disguise its true ideological motive, there is always an introduction or statement of purpose that states that the writer is not motivated by antisemitism, but by intellectual freedom and the facts. The phenomenon also shows up in Ford's *The International Jew*. The claim to be an Honest Researcher is extremely important in identifying the antisemitic basis of negationist literature, and its effect is invariably the opposite of what the writer hopes it will be: it makes a reader suspicious of

the writer's motives. Therefore, I would like to digress and briefly explain the Honest Researcher Phenomenon using Arthur Butz as an example.

In ordinary conversation, educated people tend to make racially stereotypical remarks in a surprisingly similar way. They often begin with something like "I know this sounds bad, but. . ." and then follow with a classic stereotype. I have broken down the argument of the speaker into three basic components: first, other people say statement *S*, but they have some negative attribute that the speaker recognizes and condemns; second, the speaker implies that he is morally superior to those who make *S*; but third, nevertheless the speaker has observed *S* to be true. As an example, imagine sitting in a college classroom and hearing someone say, "I know this sounds bad, but Mexicans are lazy." First, it sounds bad because it is self-evidently racist. Second, the speaker is obviously not a racist, because he recognizes that the statement is "bad" and is willing to make the statement anyway--in a cultural context (a college classroom) that disapproves of and penalizes overt expressions of racism. Third, nevertheless the speaker has observed at least one Mexican to be lazy, and therefore it must be true of all of them. I call this phenomenon "educated stereotype rhetoric."

The above discussion of the educated stereotype rhetoric is important because negationist literature begins in a similar way with what I call the Honest Researcher phenomenon. Whenever this rhetorical phenomenon appears in negationist literature, there is a preface, foreword, or statement of purpose that acts as the introductory clause, "I know this sounds bad, but. . ." The stereotype then follows in the body of the book.

Take for example the following passage from the foreword of Arthur Butz's book *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*:

The meager amount of literature in the English language which denied the truth of the legend was not only unconvincing; it was so unreliable and unscrupulous in the employment of sources, when sources were employed, that it had a negative effect [. . .].(7)

Recall that the first component of the stereotypic argument is that the people who have previously put forward the statement must have some negative attribute. There are two ways in which Butz gives previous holocaust negationist writers negative attributes. First, he says that the literature is *unreliable*, and second, he says that the previous writers are *unscrupulous*. Since *unreliable*, and *unscrupulous* have negative word values, the reader clearly should have a negative view of previous negationist literature. Just in case the reader did not comprehend how bad previous negationist literature was, Butz includes that "it had a negative effect [. . .]." This statement assures that other negationists are seen in a negative light by Butz.

The second criterion of educated stereotype rhetoric that Butz must meet is that he must differentiate himself from the previous negationists. He does so by fractions. Initially, the fact that he recognizes flaws in the other negationists is enough to put a little distance between him and the others. Immediately following the passage quoted above he writes "[B]eing quite unaccustomed to reading texts in those languages except on rare occasions when I consulted a paper in a French or German mathematics journal [. . .]"

(7). Now the reader knows that Butz is educated and diligent because he takes the time to consult journals in other languages when they apply to his profession. He also says that, before starting work on *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, he possessed “lingering doubts,” and “long-lingering skepticism” about the Holocaust (7). He then says, “my information could not...be considered conclusive and my knowledge was not comprehensive so I set out...to investigate the subject with the thoroughness that was required” (7). Butz sets himself up as a person who recognizes when he does not know something and is diligent.

Finally, Butz must set himself apart from the unscrupulousness of the previous negationists. He does this by calling attention to his great “morals.” He writes, “I felt an inescapable obligation and an intellectual imperative,” and he continues on the next page, “[i]f a scholar, regardless of his specialty, perceives that scholarship is acquiescing, from whatever motivation, in a monstrous lie, then it is his duty to expose the lie[. . .]” (8). Clearly the fact that he must act because he has an *obligation* and is acting out of *duty* shows that he is anything but unscrupulous.

Butz begins his book by setting up the previous negationists in a negative light. Then, he deliberately contrasts himself to the negative attributes of the previous negationists. The first two components of educated stereotype rhetoric are met in the foreword of the book. These first two components are not enough to show that the following negationist literature is based on classic antisemitic stereotypes. However these

two components are sufficient in making the reader suspicious of what the writer says in the following pages.

Antisemitism

As I have already said, antisemitic writing is founded upon a schema that includes three basic elements--money, mind control, and press control--all of which are placed in the service of an international Jewish conspiracy.

The first element of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* is money, which is essential to support the international conspiracy. The first protocol states that the “power of Gold” has replaced the rulers (143). The words are powerful here, but even more powerful is the fact that *gold* is capitalized as if it were a god. The rulers are the now penniless aristocracy whom the Jews have destroyed. Later in the first protocol the “sages” praise “[t]he despotism of Capital, which is entirely in our hands”(144). Again, Capital is capitalized as though it were a god. Important here is that three pages into the protocols, the author is playing on the ancient stereotype that Jews control money. Further on in protocol one, the text reads, “we must not stop at bribery, deceit, and treachery when they should serve toward the attainment of our end” (147). The money is essential for the Jews to reach their goal. The second protocol, entitled *Economic Wars*, states that the Jews will gain control of other countries through their economic assistance. Protocol five states that the science of economics was invented by the Jews for the purpose of gaining control of the states. In the twenty-four protocols, there are numerous references to money. In protocol six land is taken away from the aristocracy and wages are increased. In protocol eight, millionaires, capitalists, and economists surround the

government. Protocols twenty and twenty-one deal solely with financial issues. *The Protocols* has a real focus on Jews and money considering that three of the twenty-four protocols are solely about money, and five more mention money as part of the plan. The text takes the older stereotype that Jews are wealthy, shady businessmen and uses it to support the new theory that Jews are trying to create a kingdom that will control the world.

The second element that is necessary to the international conspiracy of the *Protocols* is political liberalism. The Jewish world conspiracy will dupe the Gentile world because they will be confused by liberal political ideas introduced by the Jews. The first protocol states that the introduction of liberal political ideas creates the blind mob that elects representatives who are also blind. The Jews of the first protocol introduce the idea of political freedom, which the text states is an idea that can never be fact, but which induces others to give up some of their power. In protocol three the Jews introduce the workers to the ideas of socialism, communism, and anarchy. Protocol ten also discusses the introduction of the “poison of Liberalism” that will be introduced to other states. The liberal political ideas are unattainable and only produce disorder in the other states. The introduction of liberalism is essential to the world conspiracy because it allows the people to be blind to the actions of the Jews.

The necessary connection between political liberalism and the Jewish world conspiracy is nicely summarized in *The International Jew*:

[M]ost of the destructive type of “liberal” plans aim at the enlistment of

the people as helpers; this plan aims at the *degeneration* of the people in order that they may be reduced to *confusion of the mind* and thus be *manipulated*. Popular movements of a “liberal” kind are to be encouraged, all the disruptive philosophies in religion, economics, politics and domestic life are to be sown and watered. (Ford 70-71) [emphasis added]

Ford makes very clear the results of liberal ideas--*degeneration, confusion of the mind*, and being *manipulated*. Ford expands what the *Protocols* entitles liberal ideas--that are essentially political ideas--into liberal ideas that affect all facets of life--*religion, economics, politics, and domestic*. Ford also expands liberalism to include “broad-mindedness” which he believes Jews use to keep Gentiles in a “flabby state of tolerance” (21). Ford’s expansions of the basic idea of the *Protocols* make the Jewish conspiracy more applicable in every day American life and make the “conspiracy” affect more people.

How are liberal ideas distributed and attempts to expose the Jewish world conspiracy suppressed? The answer is the third element of the international conspiracy, press control. Protocol twelve states that the fate of the press in the Jewish state is control through taxation and required licensing. The press, which includes magazines, newspapers, speeches, and works of history, will be completely controlled by the Elders. *The International Jew* expands press control beyond magazines, newspapers, speeches, and historiography to include theatre and film:

The theatrical business is exclusively Jewish[. . .] This accounts for the

fact that in almost every production today can be detected propaganda, sometimes glaringly commercial advertisement, sometimes direct political instruction. (Ford 16)

Beyond expanding press control to include entertainment, in this passage Ford introduces the first of the two ways press control is used, propaganda. Essentially, Jews will distribute through the press the ideas and stories that they want the Gentile public to hear or read. Press control is how they will deliver the propaganda of political and economic theories that will destroy the other states. Protocol twelve asks, “[W]hat is the part played by the press today? It serves to *excite* and *inflame* those passions which are needed for our purpose [. . .]” (Nilus 182) [emphasis added]. The ideas that the press is distributing are *exciting* and *inflaming passions*, and this means that the Gentiles cannot think clearly. This is an example of how the press is used to distribute the liberal ideas that are essential to the international conspiracy.

The second use for the press is in suppressing the voices of those who oppose the “Jewish sages.” Suppression involves both keeping alternate views from being heard by the public and also denouncing people whose views make it into a public forum. Protocol twelve declares that, in the Jewish state, “not a single announcement will reach the public without our control” (Nilus 182). Protocol twelve emphasizes that press control is necessary to keep some Gentiles from enlightening the masses. In the instance that there is a Gentile who is not confused by liberal ideas and does ask the Jewish Question, Ford believed that the “sages” have a solution. Ford writes, “[T]hat is why any investigation of

the Jewish Question is so wickedly advertised as anti-Semitism" (42). The Jewish press denounces this person as an anti-Semite which the confused, "broad-minded" Gentile public in turn finds offensive because of the liberal ideas that the Jews have used to manipulate the Gentile public (Ford 88).

The elements of the conspiracy are to achieve one goal--a Jewish state to dominate the Gentile world. Nilus already believed that this state existed:

Zion is not sparing, either of *money or of any other means*, to achieve its ends. In our day, all the governments of the entire world are consciously or unconsciously *submissive* to the commands of this great Super-government of Zion. (227)

Nilus simplifies the *Protocols* by saying that the Jews are willing to use *any means* that they have to create a dominant Jewish state, and it is his belief that the Jewish government, if not the physical state, already dominates the world. The very title of Ford's *International Jew* suggests that Jews are in control of the world, and he writes that "International Jews, the controllers of the world's governmental and financial power, may meet anywhere, at any time, in war or peace time [. . .]" (Ford 65). Ford emphasizes that Jews already control the governments of the world and like Nilus, Ford emphasizes the financial aspect of the conspiracy.

The idea of an international conspiracy is itself a stereotype, but it is supported by a series of other stereotypes that must be believed for such a conspiracy to be carried out.

Thus stereotypes about money, liberalism, and press-control are the mechanisms that the “Elders” use to found their new kingdom.

Money

I have broken down the international conspiracy theory of traditional antisemitism into three basic elements--money, liberalism, and press control--with the intention of showing that holocaust negationist literature fits into the same pattern as traditional antisemitism. I began that discussion with the money stereotype. Like traditional antisemitism, negationist literature is obsessed with the idea that Jews have money. There are quite a few principles at work here. The first principle is that money equals power. Without money, there is no plausible way for Jews to have the resources to maintain a worldwide conspiracy. Therefore the negationist must assign money to the Jews, which means that they have the power, influence, and the means to file lawsuits and defend themselves against lawsuits. The second principle at work in the negationists' argument is the old saying, "You have to spend money to make money." This saying is also the principle on which the traditional antisemites base their argument. Negationists state quite openly that the Jews use money for things such as bribery and lawsuits, but according to the negationists, they also make money from the Holocaust. That money can then be used to defend the Holocaust, and so on in a vicious circle. However, behind those two principles there is a popular assumption on which negationists are preying: namely, there is something unseemly about a person who has money. To make money someone had to be exploited--so goes the popular assumption--and even when the wealthiest in the world give to charity, the general public feels they should do more. The emotion that

accompanies this popular prejudice is part of what negationists and traditional antisemites play upon. The negationists offer two claims about money in the Holocaust conspiracy. The first is that money is used to defend the Holocaust conspiracy, and the second is that money is generated by the conspiracy.

There at least two reasons that money is an integral part to the conspiracy that the negationists are trying to build. Primarily, money is important because it is crucial to other elements in the conspiracy--especially press control. The best means available for gaining control of things is by purchasing it--by using bottomless amounts of money. The second reason why money is integral to the antisemitic conspiracy theory is that money has been associated with the Jews for hundreds of years--recall Shakespeare's Shylock in *Merchant of Venice*. In traditional pre-modern antisemitic literature, one Jew was scheming or cheating to get money for himself. The *Protocols* transformed the ancient stereotype into a group of Jews controlling money for a purpose of an international conspiracy.

Now, negationists apply that same idea to the "Holocaust conspiracy." The majority of the focus in negationist literature is not on individual Jews, but on Jewish organizations. In similar manner, the *Protocols* purports to be the beliefs of an organized group of Jewish leaders and not an individual Jew. There are several different ways that negationists group Jews, and these groupings hold true for all of the elements of the conspiracy. Negationists talk obsessively about the ADL, the Anti-Defamation League, which is a Jewish organization. They talk about Israel, which as the Jewish State

represents Jewish power and influence. I also include discussions of the OSI, the Office of Special Investigations, which is a government office that investigates Nazi war criminals. The reason that I include the OSI is that negationists make clear that organizations and politics like the ADL and Israel lobby and influence the American government. To negationists, any governmental action or office that is associated with the Holocaust is influenced by the wealth and power of Jewish organizations. Therefore, negationists treat these governmental agencies as if they are Jewish organizations.

As I said earlier, spending money to make money is an essential element to the world conspiracy. After all, it is difficult to convince the entire world that an event like the Holocaust happened when, as negationists believe, it did not. Beyond convincing everyday people through propaganda campaigns that the Holocaust happened, negationists believe that the Jews are also manipulating the governments of major powers. Propaganda and lobbying are necessary for the world conspiracy, and money is necessary for propaganda and lobbying. Therefore, money becomes a foundation stone of the negationists' theory just as it was an essential element of traditional antisemitism.

Given the presupposition that the Holocaust conspiracy adds to Jewish influence, negationists believe a considerable amount of money is used to maintain the conspiracy. The IHR's Mark Weber explains this point, "The sophisticated and *well-financed* Holocaust media campaign is crucially essential to the interests of Israel [. . .]" ("Holocaust"). By using the term "well-financed," Weber is emphasizing how important money is in maintaining the belief in the Holocaust, and ultimately, how that belief

benefits Israel. According to the negationists, the Holocaust “conspiracy” is maintained with money in two ways, bribery and lawsuits.

First, negationists maintain that money can be used to maintain the Holocaust conspiracy through bribery or simply influence. For instance, Bradley Smith writes, “[E]verywhere I move I find ADL agents representing great *influence* and great *wealth* working behind the scenes and *under the tables* [. . .]” (“What They Talk About”) [emphasis added]. Working *under the tables* refers to bribery that is made possible because of their *great wealth*. So Smith is very specifically attributing bribery to Jews. He also brings in the idea of *influence*, which is usually achieved through money to the Jews. Indicating influence through money can be done in more subtle ways than indicating bribery. An article on the AAARGH website refers to a “Holocaust *moghul*, Harry Mazal” (“The Haywood File). A *moghul* is a rich or powerful person and is also defined as a magnate, who is an influential person (“Moghul” def. 3). Using the word *moghul* calls to the readers’ minds a wealthy, powerful person who is making things happen--things the *moghul* wants to happen. AAARGH wants the readers to believe that Harry Mazal is making the Holocaust conspiracy happen.

The second way that money is supposedly used to defend the Holocaust conspiracy is through lawsuits. Negationists used the *Irving v. Lipstadt* case in England as the prime example of how money and influence keep the Holocaust story going. The lawsuit has spawned numerous articles on negationist websites. Articles about the trial portray Lipstadt as a rich Jew by constantly referring to the money Lipstadt has, which

the authors contrast to Irving's lack of money. The longest article about the lawsuit is *The Guilt of David Irving* by Ernest Sommers written for *The Revisionist*, CODOH's online newsletter soon after the trial ended. Sommers's article makes one basic point: Lipstadt has a lot of money, and David Irving does not.

The last paragraph of the introduction to Sommers's article mentions the price of Lipstadt's legal fees, "several million dollars" ("Guilt"). Immediately, Sommers begins by calling attention to the money that Lipstadt spent, and these several million dollars is the subject of the entire article. Sommers describes the defense as having had "a free flow of money," and he says that they could pay for time and effort. He says that the defense "hired half a dozen tenured academic historians[. . .] these historians received hefty fees," and he calls them "overpriced doppelgängers" ("Guilt"). All of these remarks lead the reader to one conclusion--Deborah Lipstadt has a lot of money. Because these statements are in the course of a discussion of a trial, they also imply that she bought justice and recognition of the Holocaust.

The second way that money is brought up in the Sommers article is by contrasting Irving to Lipstadt by discussing how little money he has. Sommers says that Irving was "outgunned," which is more than a subtle reference to Lipstadt's paid lawyers and witnesses ("Guilt"); it also draws attention to the absence of paid lawyers and witnesses for the prosecution. The case, Sommers contends, came down to "a contest between Irving's interpretation of events and those of Lipstadt's experts [. . .]" ("Guilt"). Again, Sommers contrasts the poor Irving, who had to defend himself, with the rich Lipstadt,

who could pay to have someone defend her. Sommers also says of Irving that “one of the problems with having nothing to lose is that you also are left with nothing to fight with” (“Guilt”). Sommers emphasizes Irving’s poverty and for that reason he is unable to defend himself from Lipstadt’s lawyers. In the next quotation, notice that Sommers calls Lipstadt’s lawyers the defense because despite Sommers’s portrayal of Irving as the persecuted, the case was actually brought by Irving. Sommers further contrasts Irving by writing “it also pointed to the time and effort that the defense was able to pay for in order to find fault with Irving’s work, time and energy which Irving did not have available” (“Guilt”). Generally, the reason someone does not have “time” is that he must work in some way to support himself, and this quote evokes sympathy for Irving as a working man.

Prior to *Irving v. Lipstadt*, money stereotypes in negationist literature focused on prosecutions under hate speech laws in other countries and prosecution of war criminals. There are no laws against hate speech in the United States, but the United States does have the Office of Special Investigations (OSI) to hunt for Nazi war criminals. Unlike the Irving trial, the OSI is not a Jewish organization but a governmental agency. However, after considering comments such as the “ADL responds as a regressive political [. . .] force,” and references to “Holocaust Lobby,” it is clear that negationists allege that Jewish organizations exert a tremendous amount of political force if not complete control of the government (Smith, “What They Talk About”). Because negationists believe that Jews are exerting so much influence on the government, the rhetoric that negationists use

when talking about the Irving case is the same kind of rhetoric that they use to talk about the OSI cases. A CODOH article on the OSI begins by mentioning the budget of the OSI and a later article states that the “positively identified” are “*financially ruined* in their *costly defenses* against the *limitless funds* of the government-sponsored OSI” (Allen “Office”; Halvorsen “Going”). By discussing the budget and using terms like *limitless funds*, these CODOH authors are drawing attention to the amount of money that the OSI uses. Similar to articles about the Irving trial, phrases such as *financially ruined* and *costly defenses* draw a contrasts between the OSI and the people it “persecutes.”

The question now becomes *why* spend so much money--there has to be benefit for spending so much money. The benefit, beyond the ultimate goal of world domination, is to accumulate more money. To negationists every book, article, movie, or museum is a piece of evidence answering why Jews would want to invent the story of the Holocaust. Ultimately, the goal of the “Holohoax,” according to the negationists, was to found the state of Israel and not to support the state of Israel. However, in this section I merely discuss the “financial benefits” to state of Israel at the current time, and the “financial benefits” to Jewish individuals and groups. I address the ultimate goal of the “Holohoax” in the conclusion of the paper.

The first allegation that the Holocaust “conspiracy” was developed by the Jews to fund Israel has two basic focuses, German and American. The negationists argue that Germany has wrongly had to pay reparations to Israel, and American taxpayers have subsidized Israel because survivors have exploited American sympathies. Ernst Zündel

writes on his website, "The alleged extent of [the Jews'] persecution quickly aroused sympathy for the Jewish national homeland that they had sought for so long," and later in the same paragraph, "[t]o date, the staggering figure of six thousand million pounds has been paid out in compensation by the federal Government of West Germany, mostly to the state of Israel" ("Did Six Million" Part 1). Zündel, in this paragraph and particularly in these two lines, indicates that Israel would not exist today if not for the Holocaust. This argument, negationists maintain, is the motive for the Holocaust conspiracy. Also essential to Zündel's argument is the amount of money that Germany paid to the state of Israel. Zündel also calls the Holocaust conspiracy "an incalculable benefit" for the Jewish people and "the most profitable atrocity allegation of all time" ("Did Six Million" Part 1). The phrases that Zündel uses and the focus he puts on monies paid by Germany implies that the Holocaust conspiracy was merely a money-making scheme. Of course negationists also draw attention to money that the United States has given to Israel. Mark Weber of the IHR writes that the "Holocaust media campaign is crucially important to the interests of Israel, which owes its existence to massive annual subsidies from American taxpayers" ("Holocaust"). Like Zündel, Weber is implying that the Holocaust is a money-making scheme, but instead of focusing on Germany as the victim, he focuses on the United States. It is the idea of the Holocaust as a money-making scheme that is essential to the negationists' argument because it creates a motive for the conspiracy.

The second allegation that the negationists make--in regards to the money-making scheme--is that the Holocaust is used to make money for individuals and Jewish

organizations. Most of the individuals that the negationists attack are survivors such as Otto Frank, father of Anne Frank. Ernst Zündel writes, "in royalties alone, Otto Frank, the girl's father, has made a *fortune* from the sale of the book" ("Did Six Million" Part 6). What Zündel indicates in this argument is that individual survivors have a motive to lie, and that motive is money. This is the traditional antisemitic idea that Jews are motivated by money which the negationists do not just limit to survivors. As Mark Weber puts it, "for many Jews, the Holocaust has become both a flourishing business and a kind of new religion" ("Holocaust") Essentially, negationists have to extend the motive to lie about the Holocaust "conspiracy" to as many Jews as possible. Weber extends the motive to all Jews because they can go into the Holocaust *business*. Negationists draw attention to the money that organizations receive. An IHR writer stated, "it is time that the *free* ride certain groups have enjoyed as the result of unchallenged Holocaust claims be terminated" (O'Keefe "Liberation"). O'Keefe is making the same argument that Weber and Zündel make--Jews are motivated by money. Whether negationists are talking about a Jewish nation, an individual, or a Jewish organization, negationists want their readers to believe that the Holocaust "conspiracy" exists to make money for Jews.

The negationists' obsession with money is identical to the obsession that traditional antisemitism has with the Jews and money. Just as money was crucial to the world conspiracy of classical antisemitism, money is crucial to the maintenance of the "Holocaust conspiracy." Therefore the first role that they assign to money is that the Jews spend it in two different ways--they spend money to influence public opinion and they use

money for lawsuits. The second role that negationists give to money is that the Holocaust makes money for Israel, for individuals, and for organizations. The negationists have given money a crucial role in the "conspiracy." Money functions as both a way to maintain the conspiracy and as the motive for the conspiracy, which is the same role that money plays in *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* and other traditional antisemitic works.

Mind Control

From the negationist perspective the second element of the “international conspiracy” is mind control. In negationist literature as in the traditional antisemitic literature which I discussed previously, mind control centers around the negationist’s belief that Jews have, are, and will introduce ideas to Gentiles that keep the Gentiles from thinking about what the Jews are “really” doing. I have broken down the negationist mind control comments into three basic categories: liberal ideas, crying antisemitism, and education.

Recall from the discussion of antisemitism that the introduction of liberal political ideas in *The Protocols* literally means political theories such as communism and democracy. However in *The International Jew*, Ford expands the original concept to include what he calls “broad mindedness,” or in today’s terms, political correctness. It is this idea of political correctness that negationists ascribe to the Jews today. While in Ford’s book fear of not being broad-minded kept Gentiles from asking the “Jewish question,” in negationist literature fear of being politically incorrect keeps people from asking what I call the “Holocaust Question.” The majority of the accusations about liberalism do come in the form Jews promoting political correctness at the expense of thought, but negationists still try to accuse the Jews of liberalism to control thoughts. For instance, when discussing a controversial art exhibit, George Brewer writes, “identifying Republicans as fascists has been a favorite pastime of the *liberati* ever since the days of

Alger Hiss [. . .]” (“Trivializing”) [emphasis added]. Of course the protest about the exhibit came from the ADL, but just in case that was not clear to the audience, he added, “the *ADL* and other *Jewish* social commentators were boiling over with *manufactured* outrage [. . .]” (“Trivializing”) [emphasis added]. In the quotes Brewer associates liberalism with being Jewish and Jews using liberal ideas to influence public opinion. He is also saying much more. Recall from my discussion of antisemitism that one of the liberal ideas that Jews allegedly introduce is communism. Alger Hiss was a liberal who was convicted of being a communist spy, and I think it is fair to say that Brewer is making an association between liberals, Jews, and communism, even if the association is only through contiguity. The final point that I would like to make in reference to the above quote is that by using the term *manufactured*, Brewer insinuates that the Jews are deliberately acting falsely. As I said the majority of accusations that have to do with liberalism come in the form of political correctness as if Jews insist on political correctness at the expense of thought. This idea is central to the argument of William Halvorsen when he wrote, “he has played a leading role in *conservative* attempts to inject some sanity in American politics, dominated as it is by *mindless ‘multiculturalism’* [. . .]” (“Going”) [emphasis added]. In this instance *multiculturalism* stands for political correctness, and what makes this statement significant is its context. Halvorsen wrote the above statement in the conclusion of an article about Pat Buchanan where Halvorsen felt “past issues regarding Buchanan and Jews [. . .]” were brought up by Buchanan’s “critics” (“Going”). Not surprisingly, the explicitly named critics are Jewish. With that

context, it is easier to see the dichotomy of mutually exclusive events that Halvorsen has constructed: Buchanan, conservatives, and pro-thoughtfulness on one side, and Jews, liberalism, and pro-mindlessness on the other side.

The second category of mind control is what I term *crying antisemitism*. In *The International Jew*, Ford says that Jews accuse Gentiles who ask the “Jewish Question” of being antisemitic. According to Ford, because Gentiles want to be broad minded, the accusation of antisemitism makes them avoid the topic. Negationists appropriate this argument with regard to how Jews treat people who ask the “Holocaust Question.” At this point it is important for me to state that I do recognize that wanting to be politically correct and not wanting to be called antisemitic are closely related. The accusation of antisemitism to an audience that does not care about being broad minded is not effective; and to negationists, being labeled an antisemite is the result of being politically incorrect. I separate them into two categories because there are specific references to political correctness which I cited above, and there are specific references to being labeled an antisemite. For instance in reference to Abraham Foxman of the ADL, Bradley Smith writes: “Abraham argues that I hate Jews,” and a little later in the same article, “Abraham understands why it is necessary to slander those who question what ADL-Jews believe” (“What They Talk About”). Smith’s implied answer to *why* is that the accusation promotes acceptance of Jewish works in the minds of journalists and academics and prevents negationist work from being accepted. The accusation functions as a way for

Jews to manipulate the public. It is also important to note that by referring to Foxman as *Abraham*, Smith is specifically calling attention to the fact that Foxman is Jewish.

The final category of mind control technique is the introduction of ideas through education. In both traditional antisemitism and negationism, using education to influence ideas is the least-used mind control technique. Mind control through education means exactly what it says. Negationists believe that Jews introduce ideas about the Holocaust in an educational setting, and that introduction of ideas makes Gentiles believe in the Holocaust. The most basic example of this technique would be a negationist complaining that the Holocaust is taught in schools. This part of the mind control technique is actually a form of propagandizing that can use teachers in school to distribute the ideas orally or that can use the press. George Brewer, a writer for CODOH, expressed the idea the Jews propagandize about the Holocaust when he wrote about the Eichmann papers, "it was felt that the Eichmann writings, without appropriate annotations (read: thought control) might aid [. . .] "Deniers"[. . .] by establishing historical truth" ("The Eichmann Gambit") This is a blatant accusation by Brewer, accusing the Israelis of manipulating the historical facts. By writing *thought control*, he goes far beyond an insinuation of mind control. Some references to influencing education are more subtle such as Theodore O'Keefe's argument that, "Americans...have a basic right and overriding interest in determining the facts of incidents that are [. . .] significant in determining America's foreign and *educational* policy, as well as its selection of past events to be memorialized in our civic life" ("Liberation") [emphasis added]. Part of the subtlety of O'Keefe's statement is that

no Jews or Jewish group is specifically named but the preceding paragraph rails against the “free ride *certain groups* have enjoyed as a result of the unchallenged Holocaust claims [. . .]” (“Liberation”) [emphasis added]. *Certain groups* is certainly a reference to Jews and Jewish organizations. The implication is that *certain groups* are using the Holocaust to influence *education* in schools as well as public education out of schools through memorializing events. Similarly, in a later article he writes that the US Holocaust Memorial Museum is a “propaganda enterprise” and calls “Holocaust Remembrance” in schools part of “an ambitious propaganda agenda.” (O’Keefe “U.S. Holocaust”)

The categories that I have placed on these techniques are merely for convenience, and there are cases where I am unable to categorize a quote on mind control. Such is the case with the statement made by Bradley Smith about Hillel Rabbis, “Sex isn’t the achilles heel of these kosher evangelicals. Pride is, and a lust to control the thoughts of others” (“God Bless”). This quote is without a doubt about mind control, but does not fit into the categories I have constructed. However the quote does make the point that negationists, like the antisemites who preceded them, want the readers of their literature to believe that the Jews are introducing ideas into Gentile society that keep Gentiles from “thinking” about the Holocaust. The last technique of education for the most part has the built in propaganda distribution centers like schools and museums. The other two mind control techniques, liberalism and crying antisemitism, require a way for the propaganda to be distributed and also depend on societal pressure. I discuss the way in which propaganda is distributed through press control in the following section.

Press Control

The final element of the international conspiracy is press control. In many ways press control ties the other two elements together. By that I mean money is needed to get press control through ownership or influence, and the press is needed for the mind control propaganda. I also believe that of the three elements the concept of Jews controlling the press is the most useful for the negationist. I maintain that the press control stereotype is the most likely to sway a reader to the negationists' viewpoint because *Jews control the press* is the most accepted and widely expressed of the stereotypes about Jews. For a person who accepts that Jews control the press or at least has been exposed to the idea, negationist literature answers two important questions. *How* are the Jews able to control the press? According to negationists the Jews have money and influence; therefore the reader believes the money stereotype. *Why* would Jews want to control the press? According to the negationists, the answer is to distribute propaganda and squash bad press that exposes the Jewish conspiracy. The fact that the other elements of the conspiracy are so closely linked to press control makes the entire negationist case more believable to the person who already believes the press control stereotype. Although press control is a significant element in traditional antisemitism, I am unsure if press control was any more accepted than the other stereotypes. My impression from literature on antisemitism is that all stereotypes about Jews were more accepted than today. My belief that the press control stereotype is more accepted in today's society comes from

personal experiences I have had. However, there is no doubt that press control is an element of traditional antisemitism, and it does play a significant role.

As I stated above the answer to *why* the Jews want to control the press is that they want to distribute propaganda and eliminate bad press. It is important to note that press control extends far beyond the written press. As Ford believed that Jews controlled the theatre to distribute Jewish propaganda, negationists rail against such things as movies about the Holocaust. The idea of propaganda is the basis for the negationists' historical arguments. That is to say that negationists believe that the Holocaust story originally began as a propaganda story from war. The CODOH college ad campaign makes the argument that "only a tiny group of individuals believed the story at the time, many of whom were connected with Jewish *propaganda* agencies [. . .]. The Holocaust story reads more like the success story of a *PR campaign* than anything else" ("The Holocaust Controversy") [emphasis added]. Being that negationists believe that the "Holocaust conspiracy" began as a propaganda campaign, the idea of propaganda is central in their writings. I suppose that negationists would call the Holocaust story a *PR campaign* that is still running because propaganda also includes how the Holocaust story is maintained in our culture today. I have already discussed propagandizing through news media outlets, but negationists believe that the Holocaust propaganda has penetrated every crevice of American life. Negationists like Bradley Smith argue that "Our television, our cinema, our stages are run over with fake Holocaust drama" ("Special").

Smith statement translates into a belief that general media is propagandizing for Jewish causes--a similar sentiment about theatres was expressed by Ford.

When it comes to addressing how the Jews suppress the negative press of the "Holocaust question," negationists use the same rhetoric that traditional antisemites use to explain how Jews suppress discussion of the "Jewish question." There are two different ways that negationists say that Jews control the press. Like traditional antisemites, negationists say explicitly or implicitly that Jews control the press. By explicit, I mean that negationists literally use the words *press* or *media* in the same sentence with a word that indicates control, and that of course inhibits the ability of negationists to publish their work regarding the Holocaust. For instance, Ernest Sommers of CODOH writes that David Irving's book "was sunk by a massive media campaign and by other pressure placed on his American publisher by those who felt that Irving's interpretations, particularly about Auschwitz, were intolerable" ("David Irving"). Even though Sommers only refers to *those*, there is no doubt that he is indicating Jews or Jewish organizations, and like the Protocols there is an implication that nothing reaches the press without their approval.

However there are more subtle ways that negationists imply that Jews control the press. The first way, *crying antisemitism*, I have already discussed as a mind control techniques. It works effectively as a press control technique because negationists believe that once they have been labeled antisemites no one will publish their work. However since I have already addressed crying antisemitism as a mind control technique, I skip

directly to the second kind of negationist rhetoric that implies Jews control the press, free speech. All negationist websites discuss free speech. Of course negationists argue that their rights to free speech are being violated, and the implication is that Jews are the ones violating that right. Some websites are subtle like *Zündelsite* which has a free speech ribbon at the bottom of each page, while other negationists vociferate on the issue in articles. As Bradley Smith stated, “[E]very where I move I find ADL agents [. . .] working [. . .] to convince student journalists that the ideal of free press is not what the Founding Fathers were convinced it was [. . .]” (“What They Talk About”). The fact that negationists are fighting for free speech means that they are fighting someone--Jews.

Like the writers of traditional antisemitism, negationists have made press control central to their argument. Press control is how the “Holocaust conspiracy” began through Jewish propaganda and also how it is maintained. It is appropriate that I discuss press control last because it ties the other elements of the conspiracy together. Money and influence are used to gain control of the press and then the press is used to disseminate mind control and propaganda. With the discussion on press control, I have introduced all of the elements from negationist literature that make up the international Jewish conspiracy or the “Holocaust conspiracy.” The only items left to discuss are the negationists’ specific references to the reason for the “Holocaust conspiracy,” and the introduction of evidence that shows that negationists’ antisemitism are part of a large xenophobia.

Conclusion

The reason that negationists give for the “Holocaust conspiracy” is the development and support of the state of Israel. In the same way that Nilus believed that the entire gentile world was submissive to the government of Zion, negationists believe that Israel is using the Holocaust to manipulate the world, particularly America. As I said in the discussion of antisemitism, the pattern of *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* is to apply the stereotypes of money, mind control, and press control to an international conspiracy. Negationists do just that when they espouse that the Holocaust was made up to gain support for the founding of the state of Israel or to gain support for Israel at a later date. This argument is used in the CODOH college ad campaign, “There is little doubt that their purpose was to drum up world sympathy and political support for Jewish causes, especially for the formation of the state of Israel [. . .] the story still plays an important role in the ambitions of Zionists and other organizations in the Jewish community” (“The Holocaust Controversy”). The argument of an international conspiracy is itself an antisemitic stereotype from traditional antisemitic literature, but it is also forming the motivation for the other stereotypic behaviors that negationists are ascribing to Jews.

Despite what they claim, the negationists’ motive is antisemitism. An analysis of their works indicates that their writings contain the same rhetoric that is found in classical antisemitism, such as *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* and *The International*

Jew. Negationists are attempting to discredit the Holocaust with the rhetoric that inspired the Holocaust. While negationists have not been successful in discrediting the Holocaust, they have been successful in another respect. Libraries such as the one at Texas A&M University do not have *The Protocols* or *The International Jew*, but they do carry negationist material with the same antisemitic rhetoric.

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Appendix A

I mentioned when I discussed the various different negationists that the majority of them express ideas that are very clearly racist. I limited my use of these persons because their motives and racist mentality are obvious. However I would like to take the time to discuss some of the racist statements that negationists make. Most of the negationists that I have studied made remarks that are indicative of their general xenophobia. I begin this discussion with the authors who I felt were blatantly racist and then address Bradley Smith of CODOH who has a much more subtle expression of his xenophobia.

The author of Zündelsite has a section that discusses the importance of reducing immigration because of the “race problem,” and its threat to the Anglo-Saxons of Britain and America. The ideas that are put forward about the dangers of racial mixing are clearly racist. This particular section in Zündelsite titled “The Race Problem Suppressed” was actually written by Richard Harwood, but I think it is fair to say that by publishing the comments, the publishers of Zündelsite agree with the comments. The comments are that “Many countries of the Anglo-Saxon world, notably Britain and America, are today facing the gravest danger in their history, the danger posed by the alien races in their midst.” The specific races that are a threat to *Anglo-Saxons* are the Asians and Africans, and the section also talks about “the struggle for self-preservation” (Zündel “Did Six Million” Part 1). Without a doubt, this Social Darwinist depiction of race relations

qualifies as racism.

Mark Weber was the second author that I eliminated from the analysis. I actually eliminated him because his friend and former partner at CODOH, Bradley Smith, admitted that Weber is “a racist and [his] friend” (“Natural Order”). If Smith is willing to admit that Weber is a racist when most negationists try to distance themselves from racism, I feel comfortable taking his word that Weber is a racist. The only evidence that I have used from Weber is evidence that was published on the CODOH website. I feel that Smiths inclusion of the JHR pamphlets reflects the beliefs of Smith and CODOH.

Finally, I can address Bradley Smith who runs the CODOH website from which most of my evidence was taken. As I said Smith is much better at hiding his xenophobia than other negationists. On his website he publishes autobiographical excerpts from his book(s). It was in these excerpts that I found his xenophobic feelings. The excerpts included discussion about other races and a misogynistic rant about women. It was Smith’s discussion of Weber’s ideas that gave the biggest hint of his own racial views. Smith’s interpretation of Weber’s views is that immigration will “‘Puerto Ricanize’ and ‘Mexicanize’ the country,” but Smith’s response to that is “Have you been to East Los Angeles recently? Mark believes that would be bad for the country” (“Natural Order”). This statement is not a rejection of Weber’s racist ideas. As a matter of fact it supports the idea with the “evidence” of East Los Angeles. Smith also condones Weber’s ideas by writing that he “admire[s] him for speaking publicly about his prejudices in an informed and decent way” (“Natural Order”). First, *informed prejudices* is an oxymoron because

prejudices by their nature are not based on knowledge, and second, prejudice is never decent. Despite the above quotations and the fact that he admits to associating with racists, Smith would say that he could not be prejudiced against Mexicans because his wife is Mexican. His wife is also a woman, and he writes about women,

Then I started thinking about other situations run by women....Everywhere they've taken over there's chaos...Every place they take over it falls apart. They've got no sense of organization, no sense about how to do things. Now they want to get into business and government. This country is going to be in one big mess. ("A Simple Writer")

He has strong views on the incompetence of women and no respect for them. Unlike other negationists who put their comments in their negationist writings, these comments were hidden away in an autobiographical novel about Smith that is on the CODOH website. It seems unlikely to me that the average reader who ventures onto this site would read this novel and therefore would not realize that Smith is an equal opportunity racist and misogynist.

The fact that most negationists express xenophobic ideas hardly makes them antisemites, but there is a high correlation between general xenophobia and antisemitism. I include this section as an explanation of why I chose to address some negationists and not others. Showing that Bradley Smith was using traditional antisemitic rhetoric was more difficult than showing that the author of *Zündelsite* was doing so because the writer for *Zündelsite* clearly is motivated by racism.

Appendix B

This final appendix is an account of a phenomena that I observed in negationist literature, but which does not appear to fit into traditional antisemitism. The phenomenon is the repeated use by negationists, especially CODOH writers, of words that are clearly of Hebrew or Yiddish origin, or words that specifically relate to the Jewish religion. Some of the words used on CODOH that fall into this category are: *kvetchers*, *shibboleths*, *chutzpah*, and *mitzvah* (Brewer “Trivializing”; Halvorsen “Going”; Weber “Jewish Soap”; Smith “Tools”). The question that must be asked is, what does it mean? A possible explanation is that negationists are using these “Jewish” words to distance themselves from accusations of being antisemitic, but I think that the use of these words is for a much more distasteful reason. The second explanation is that they are mocking Jews in a way similar to whites who mock African-Americans through black face or a “black” accent. I have no real explanation for the phenomena which is why I have presented two possible explanations, but I did feel that it was a significant enough phenomenon that it needed to be addressed.

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